The Stress of War Upon the Civilian Population of Virginia, 1739-1760

By Chester Raymond Young

To see the effects of military action upon civilian life is to take a new and refreshing look at the consequences of war. Most military history emphasizes the deployment of troops, the conduct of campaigns, and the fighting of battles. The other side of the picture is too often ignored—that part which deals with the dislocation of civilians, their economic adjustments, movements within the sphere of religion, and changes in the hierarchy and power structure of the body politic. The purpose of this study is to consider such results of war in the colony of Virginia from the beginning of the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739, through King George's War, during the uneasy interbellum period, to 1760 when the French and Indian War was essentially at an end.

These periods of war and cold war witnessed major movements of people within the province. Some went westward to settle on Virginia frontiers on both sides of the Alleghenies; others fled eastward and southward to escape the ravages of the French and their Indians. Attempts were made to control vagrants and the unemployed. The needs of the military service called for the recruiting and drafting of civilians. People came together in new towns, usually for safety's sake.

As early as 1726 German and Scotch-Irish immigrants were pouring out of Pennsylvania into the Valley of Virginia in search of cheap land and new homes. And out of this valley some turned eastward through gaps in the Blue Ridge to settle in the Piedmont. Even though the Shenandoah Valley and the Piedmont were not thickly settled and much land remained unclaimed, a number of Virginia speculators under the leadership of Thomas Lee, a member of the Virginia Council, looked beyond the Allegheny Mountains to the virgin lands on the Ohio. They saw there an avenue to a profitable Indian trade and an opportunity for investment in land. Accordingly, in 1748 Lee and twelve others, including Lawrence and Augustine Washington, elder brothers of George Washington, formed the Ohio Company, which was given a royal charter and a grant of 200,000 acres of land on the east side of the Ohio River from the Forks of the Ohio to the Kanawha. The promise of 300,000 additional acres was made, provided the company within seven years located one hundred families on the land, built a fort, and maintained a garrison to protect the settlement.[1]

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[1] R. A. Brock, ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758* ... (2 vols, Richmond, Va., 1883), I, 17n; Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed., 2 vols; New York, c. 1950), I, 98, 99.

Such activity by a British colony, the French could not ignore. They saw it as a threat to their trade with the Indians, to their line of communications from Canada to Louisiana, and to their claim upon the intervening western land. In 1753 the French built Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio as a part of a chain of defense posts. The subsequent attempt of the British to dislodge their rival from the Ohio precipitated in 1754 a two-year period of undeclared war—a prelude to the last struggle between France and Great Britain in North America.

During the French and Indian War the operations of the Ohio Company were suspended. Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, who had bought shares in the company, moved with vigor to prosecute this unofficial war against France. In January 1752 Dinwiddie wrote Thomas Cresap, one of the company directors, who had helped to built a trail from the organization's warehouse on the Potomac to the Monongahela, "I have the Success and Prosperity of the Ohio Company much at Heart, though I have not a Line from any concerned since my Arrival, but this from you."[2] In moving to oust the French from the Ohio and to press Virginia's charter claims to the area west and northwest of the colony, the governor left himself open to charges of personal ambition and self-interest. In fact, the people of Virginia showed little enthusiasm for the French and Indian War until the enemy began to invade their frontier in sizable numbers. It is ironic that the land company which was one of the factors in bringing on the war should suffer a virtual death by reason of the resulting hostilities.

In 1752, two years before Washington's defeat at Great Meadows, the Virginia Assembly had sought to further the cause of the Ohio company by exempting from taxation for a ten-year period Protestant settlers in that part of Augusta County west of the Alleghenies.[3] The following year a new tax-exemption period was set at fifteen years, as a result of the encouragement given Virginia by the Board of Trade to cultivate the friendship of the Ohio Indians. It was believed that the settling of foreign Protestants on the Ohio would result in securing the frontier.[4] Apparently this was looked upon as a countermeasure to the French habit of living among the Indians. These two measures resulted, it was said in 1754, in "many of his majesty's faithful subjects" settling on or near the Ohio.[5] It

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[2] Jan. 23, 1752, Williamsburg, in Brock, I, 17.

[3] William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619* (13 vols.; Richmond and Philadelphia, 1809-1823), VI, 338; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-1755, 1756-1758* (Richmond, 1909), 37, 98 (hereafter cited as McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*).

[4] Hening, VI, 335-336; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, xvi, [103], 116, 170.

[5] Hening, VI, [417]. Hayes Baker-Crothers contends that "the actual advance over the mountains by home seekers had not begun as late as 1754." *Virginia and the French and Indian War* (Chicago, c. 1928), 21.

is doubtful that many went into western Augusta County at this time.[6]

In 1756, the year following Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, Governor Dinwiddie proposed the forming of a colony west of the Allegheny Mountains to serve as a barrier between the enemy and Virginia. Evidently few had located on the Ohio lands, because he wrote the Board of Trade of the necessity of granting "Indulgences in Matter of Religion" and other "Privileges and Encouragement."[7] Even when the trans-Allegheny region had been cleared of both Indians and French, by the end of 1759 there were still few settlers because of the conflict between Virginia and Pennsylvania as to the jurisdiction of the area. Also the question about renewing the grants to the land companies of the two colonies remained unsettled, even though numbers of people were anxious to locate on "the fine fertile lands."[8] In spite of the efforts by both the Ohio Company and the colonial government, it would appear that not many moved beyond the Alleghenies until the war ended.

The depredations of the Indians against life and property in Virginia occurred with alarming regularity during most of this war period. However, the more concentrated periods of raiding were from Braddock's defeat in the summer of 1755 until the gathering of Forbes' army in Pennsylvania three years later.

A number of settlers in one of the frontier counties petitioned Governor William Gooch in 1742 for the appointment of John McDowell as a militia captain. They described themselves as "Lo[w]ly and Dutifull Subganckes [who] hath ventred our Lives & all that we have In settling ye back parts of Virginia which was a veri Great Hassirt & Dengrous, for it is the Hathins Road to ware, which has proved hortfull to severil of ous that were ye first settlers of the back woods. . . ."[9] This was their second petition for protection against the violence of the Indians.

Some Indians with a few white men who were taken to be French appeared in Augusta County on December 18, 1742, killing eight or nine militia men and carrying off their horses. The Council sent twenty pistoles to the county for the relief of the widows and families involved.[10] Perhaps the robbing of Adam Herman's house

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[6] Augusta Court House, a little village of twenty houses in 1753, was in the Valley of Virginia in the eastern part of the county, which was sprinkled with isolated plantations. A group of twelve Moravians traveled through the Valley from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in October and November of that year, and found only a few people. The settlers along the wagon road afforded them relief from their lonely journey and directions about the country and roads ahead. [Bernhard A. Grube], "Diary of a Journey of Moravians from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Betharaba in Wachovia, North Carolina, 1753," in Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 323-356.

[7] Feb. 23, 1756, in Brock, II, 343.

[8] Francis Fauquier to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, Dec. 1, 1759, Williamsburg, in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1758-1761* (Richmond, Va., 1908), 281 (hereafter cited as McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*).

[9] Andrew Moore *et al.* to Gooch, July 30, 1742, in William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond* (11 vols.; Richmond, 1875-1893), I, 235.

[10] H. R. McIlwaine and Wilmer L. Hall, eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (5 vols.; Richmond, Va., 1925-1945), V, 112-113.

in Augusta County the last week of April 1749 was a typical raid by the Indians. On three successive days in this westernmost Virginia county at least seven Indians stole a total of 96 deer skins, 8 elk skins, 2 "Buck Skins in Parchment," and 27 pounds of leather.[11]

When the Thomas Walker party returned to Virginia from their Kentucky trip, they stayed on July 8, 1750, with Robert Armstrong, whose home was near the Jackson River, a branch of the James. The Armstrongs were hindered in their hospitality to strangers, because of looting by "the great number of Indian Warriors that frequently take what they want from them, much to their prejudice."[12] Even though these depredations may have been isolated and sporadic, the Virginians felt that they had borne for some time the brunt of a French attempt to alienate the Indians from the British.[13]

Sixty Indians came down from the North in early May 1753 (the year that the Marquis Duquesne built his chain of forts on the Allegheny and upper Ohio), swooping down on the plantation of George Hoopaugh of Augusta County and burning his house and barn, located on Sinking Creek of Woods River. Fifteen bushels of wheat were destroyed in the fire, and previously the Indians had burned his corn and killed his best dogs. Fearing for his life, he had abandoned his home at that time and left his "winter crop in the Ground which was Lost."[14] In December of that year as George Washington and Christopher Gist returned from their embassy to the French forts on the Allegheny, they came upon a plantation on the head of the Great Kanawha River, where they found seven dead bodies lying about the house, having been eaten and mutilated by hogs. All except a blonde-headed woman had been scalped. According to signs left by the intruders, this assault was taken to be the work of the French Indians of the Ottawa nation.[15] Two months later Dinwiddie reported this information to an emergency session of the General Assembly, together with the recent news that a boy had been kidnapped by Indians on the South Branch of the Potomac. Reminding the legislators that the French were behind such activity, the governor orated: "But how must your Indignation rise when you extend your view to the Abettors of these Villanies! Such are the People whose Neighborhood you must now prevent, or with the most probable Expectation think to see, in the Bosom of your Country, these Evils, that you as yet have only the melancholy Tidings of from your Frontiers."[16]

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[11] Henry Lenard, Deposition before William Harbison, May 18, 1750, Augusta Co., in Palmer, I, 243.

[12] "Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1749-1750," in Lewis P. Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800* (Abingdon, Va., 1929), 26.

[13] Dinwiddie, Address to Assembly, Feb. 27, 1752, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 5.

[14] George Hoopaugh, Deposition, Feb. 2, 1754, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 523.

[15] John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (4 vols.; Boston and New York, c. 1925), I, 65.

[16] Dinwiddie, Address to Assembly, Feb. 14, 1754, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 136.

Following the British defeat on the Monongahela in the summer of 1755, the tempo of Indian raids was stepped up many fold. In late June the exposed settlements in Hampshire County were raided by two parties of Indians and French, totaling about 130, who killed nine families. Early the next month three men were killed and several prisoners taken in Augusta County. About 150 of the enemy invaded Hampshire County early in October with the result that about seventy settlers were dead or missing.[17]

In the spring of 1756 the French and their Indians returned in force to assault the Virginia frontier settlements. In early April a large body of the enemy killed many persons of both sexes and all ages near Winchester in Frederick County. Three families were killed on April 22 within twelve miles of the town. By four days later the enemy had burned, killed, or destroyed every thing in their way to the north of Winchester as far east as Opequon Creek, a branch of the Potomac. One person was killed an another captured in early August on the Conococheague Road, four miles north of Winchester. In October the neighborhoods around the South Branch, Conococheague River, and Stony Run of the North Branch—all tributaries of the Potomac—were ravaged again by the enemy.[18]

William Shaw, a settler on the Virginia frontier, was captured by the enemy in November, 1756. Taken to Fort Duquesne, he was cruelly tortured on order of the French commandant by having his toes cut off, one at a time on successive days. After suffering a long and inhuman imprisonment at the Forks of the Ohio, Shaw was sent to Quebec and later to England. By February 1759 he had been repatriated to Virginia and awarded a recompense of £ 60 by the House of Burgesses.[19]

The Indians, together with their Gallic cohorts, were so far removed from the French forts that they had to live off the land. Since wild game was very scarce in the settlements, they depended on the cattle of the inhabitants for their chief means of subsistence.[20] Washington, now commanding officer of the First Virginia Regiment, described the ability of the Indian warriors: "However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled,

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[17] Dinwiddie to Horatio Sharpe, July 5, 1755, in Brock, II, 85-86; Dinwiddie to Arthur Dobbs, July 8, 1755, in Brock, II, 90; George Washington to Dinwiddie, Oct. 11, 1755, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (39 vols.; Washington, 1931-1944), I, 205 (hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*).

[18] Henry Timberlake, *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765. . .* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1927), 28n; Washington to Dinwiddie, April 24, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 329; Washington to Adam Stephen, April 26, Aug. 5, Oct. 23, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 338, 437, 482.

[19] McDowell, *Burgesses, 1758-1781*, 66, 68.

[20] Washington to John Robinson, April 7, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 305-306.

neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth."[21]

Even though the French and Indians again marauded the settlers on the South Branch of the Potomac in the spring of 1757,[22] that year marked the exodus of the northern Indians from western Virginia. The gathering of Forbes' army in the early part of 1758 and his subsequent victory at Duquesne that winter assured the settlers in northern Virginia of a relatively quiet frontier. However, tension now mounted from another quarter. When the Cheorkee and Catawba Indians who had aided the British in the Forbes' expedition returned home in 1759 through the Shenandoah Valley, they carried off a number of horses belonging to farmers along the way. Some of the Indians were killed by the frontiersmen, and others were taken captive. As a result, war broke out between the Cherokee and the Carolina settlements in the fall, and skulking parties ravaged the southern frontier of Virginia.[23]

In 1755, when the northern Indians constituted a threat to the colony, the Assembly offered a reward of £ 10 for each Indian scalp or captured Indian. Substantial increases in the reward were made two years later, but the repeal of the entire system in the fall of 1758 probably is a good indication that attacks by the red men had subsided.[24]

Concomitant with death and destruction on the war-torn frontier was the dislocation of great numbers of settlers who in apprehension of Indian assault fled to the more settled areas of the province. The majority moved; only a few remained on their plantations. The eastward-flowing stream of refugees from the back country often constituted a threat to the efficient operation of the Virginia military forces. At other times care of those who remained and protection of the belongings of those who left made up the principal duty of detached regimental units.[25]

The first major exodus from the frontier occurred early in October 1755, following an attack of about 150 Indians in Hampshire County. By noon on Sunday the 10th, Winchester in Frederick County was in turmoil. Counting life more dear than property, the back settlers had fled their plantations and were flocking into the town, while its inhabitants were moving out in great disorder.[26] A regimental captain reported to Washington that he could hardly pass over the Blue Ridge because of the throng of refugees, "who were

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[21] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 7, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 300-301.
[22] Council of War, Minutes, April 16, 1757, Fort Cumberland, Maryland, in *ibid.*, II, 28.
[23] Hening, VII, 232, [332]; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*, xiv.
[24] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 298; Hening, VI, 550-552, VII, 121-123, 241.
[25] Concern for the frontiersman apparently lay behind the 1755 amendment of the 1748 Invasion and Insurrection Act by which the militia was prohibited from marching more than five miles beyond the settled line of the frontier, Hening, VI, 548.
[26] Washington to Dinwiddie, Oct. 11, 1755, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 200.

flying as if every moment was death." Believing that Winchester was in flames, the people would not listen to the captain's plea to return home. Colonel Washington sent messengers down several roads leading out of Winchester to urge the settlers to come back.[27]

False alarms often added to the fear of the people. Washington investigated two rumors which proved untrue, and a few days later he published a notice to the people, calling on them "not to be alarmed on every false Report they may hear, . . . but to keep to their Homes and take care of their Crops. . . ."[28]

Abandoned homes on the South Branch proved to be an open invitation for bold and adventuresome soldiers to plunder. The colonel found it necessary to issue an order that any man caught in the act would be given five hundred lashes without even a court-martial. Thus the army attempted to protect the property of the settlers who had so hastily left behind most of their worldly goods.[29] In addition, military units spent many days throughout the remainder of the year burying the civilian dead, gathering the farmer's harvest of corn, wheat, and oats, or protecting him while he did so. If the people had been killed or captured, or if they had abandoned their farms, their harvest was to be secured and a record kept of each plantation's yield.[30]

Perhaps typical of the detachments sent on this duty was the unit commanded by Captain Charles Lewis. The third night out of Winchester, they camped on October 22, 1755, at a deserted farm on Cacapon River in Hampshire County. "We found here a plenty of corn, oats, and stock of all kinds; even the goods and furniture of the house were left behind."[31] The tasks of harvesting corn and burying the dead continued through November and into December, as his men ranged over a wide territory west of the Cacapon.[32]

So serious had been the exodus and dislocation of 1755 that the Assembly in March 1756 authorized the building of a chain of frontier forts to encourage the settlers to remain on their farms. They were to extend from Henry Enoch's house on the Cacapon in the north to the South Fork of Mayo River in Halifax County near the Carolina border.[33]

After the two Indian raids in April 1756, hardly a family remained in Hampshire County. That month the settlers daily moved out of Frederick County, and Washington feared that the Shenan-

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[27] *Ibid.*, I, 205.
[28] Advertisement, [Oct. 13, 1755,] in *ibid.*, I, 208-209.
[29] Washington, Evening Orders, Oct. 23, 1755, Fort Pearsall, [Hampshire Co.], in *ibid.*, I, 222.
[30] Washington to Allan McLean, Oct. 26, 1755, [Ft. Cumberland], in *ibid.*, I, 224; Washington to Andrew Lewis, Oct. 27, 1755, in *ibid.*, I, 225.
[31] "Journal of Captain Charles Lewis to the Virginia Regiment . . . ," in Virginia Historical Society, *Collections*, new ser., XI, 208.
[32] *Ibid.*, XI, 214.
[33] Hening, VII, 17.

doah Valley would soon be desolate of inhabitants. The exodus of farmers made it extremely difficult for the militia units then in Winchester to secure food supplies.[34] Only in an area where settlers were actively engaged in farming could the military hope to subsist for long periods of time. The few families who remained west of Winchester were in such dire straits that Washington was moved with compassion for them: "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions from the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."[35]

By the end of April the Great North Mountain has become the western frontier of Virginia. Only a few families, located on the South Branch and the Cacapon and guarded by military detachments, lived west of that ridge. These families, including women and children, lived in forts which had been built for that purpose. Otherwise, no one lived on a plantation west of Winchester. Washington felt that in the event of another enemy assault no one would be left in Frederick County and that sooner or later Fairfax and Prince William Counties to the east would share the same fate.[36]

In May 1756 Washington called on the people, as he had done the year before, to return to their land and care for their cattle and crops. The colonel realized the importance of the presence of the settlers both to keep the frontier from collapsing and to furnish provisions for the military. This he demonstrated by sending out soldiers from May through July to assist the farmers in their harvest. In fact, Captain Thomas Waggener was ordered to suspend the construction of forts until the harvest was past.[37]

The settlers on the South Branch survived the enemy raids of August and October, and the few families remaining in Halifax, Augusta, Hampshire, and Frederick Counties stayed on their farms only because of the protection afforded by the newly-constructed forts and the regimental units stationed in them. Washington, at the end of 1756, estimated that within the past twelve months the frontier had moved eastward by fifty miles all along its north-south expanse from Maryand to North Carolina.[38]

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[34] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 7, 24, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 300, 329.

[35] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 22, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 325; see also Washington to the Commanding Officers of Prince William and Fairfax, April 21, 1756, [Winchester], in *ibid.*, I, 323.

[36] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 27, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 340-341; Washington to John Robinson, April 24, 27, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 334, 335, 339.

[37] Washington, Advertisement, [May 18-20, 1756], in *ibid.*, I, 384; Washington, Memorandums Respecting the Militia, May 17, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 381; Washington to Robert McKenzie, July 13, 1756, Fort Cumberland, in *ibid.*, I, 431; Washington to Berry, July 21, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 459; Washington to John Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 412.

[38] Washington to Dinwiddie, Sept. 8, 1756, Winchester, Sept. 23, 1756, Mount Vernon, Oct. 10, 1756, Hunter, Nov. 9, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 468, 488, 498, 493; Washington to Robinson, Nov. 5, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 503.

Following the Indian raid on the South Branch settlers in the spring of 1757, a number of settlers moved off and left their homes. Some who remained were so uncertain of the future that they did not plant their corn crops. The few farmers who were located west of Winchester were again furnished military aid in bringing in their harvest.[39]

During the drought of 1758, little grain was raised in the southwestern part of the Old Dominion. As a result, many poor people were on the verge of starvation. Since no navigable streams crossed that region and the farmers were unable to pay the excessive wagon freight, they could not bring in corn from the east. To encourage them to remain on the frontier, the Assembly appropriated £ 1,000 to supply the corn they needed. The government would haul the corn in by wagon and give it to the "really poor and indigent"; otherwise, it would be sold at cost.[40]

Farmers on the Green, the New, and the Kanawha Rivers abandoned their settlements during the Cherokee uprising after the capture of Fort Duquesne. By the end of 1760 they were moving back to their farms. In fact, patents for new grants were being sought for land in that area on the southwestern frontier.[41]

By 1760 peace had returned to the Shenandoah Valley—where the greatest ravages of the French and Indian War had taken place. An Anglican rector, who traveled through the valley that year, described its inhabitants and their pastoral scenes in glowing terms: "Far from the bustle of the world, they live in the most delightful climate, and richest soil imaginable; they are everywhere surrounded with beautiful prospects and sylvan scenes; lofty mountains, transparent streams, falls of water, rich valleys, and majestic woods; the whole interspersed with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs, constitute the landscape surrounding them: they are subject to few diseases; are generally robust; and live in perfect liberty: they are ignorant of want, and acquainted with but few vices."[42] How quickly war had departed from the frontier.

The drafting, impressing, and recruiting of civilians for military duty and the activity of the militia involved almost all adult males in the colony.

As is true in every war, the needs of military service could not be met by volunteers. Some measure of compulsion was necessary, if war-time requirements were to be satisfied. In an emergency

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[39] Minutes, Council of War, April 18, 1757, Fort Cumberland, in *ibid.*, II, 28; Washington to Dinwiddie, April 28, 1757, Williamsburg, in *ibid.*, II, 28, 32, 33; Washington to Andrew Lewis, June 3, 1757, [Ft. Loudoun], in *ibid.*, II, 45.

[40] Hening, VII, 313, 314.

[41] Proceedings of the Board of Trade, Dec. 6, 1760, Williamsburg, in McIlwaine, *Journals*, 1758-1761, lxiii.

[42] Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759 and 1760, with Observations upon the State of the Colonies* (Rufus R. Wilson, ed.; New York, 1904), 58.

each British colony in North America called first on its militia, in which, with some exceptions, service was a universal manhood obligation. Excluded in Virginia were Anglican ministers; the president, faculty, and students of the College of William and Mary; plantation overseers of slaves; millers in charge of a mill; founders, keepers, and other employees of an iron, copper, or load works; and workers at any other mine. The 1738 Militia Act required "all free male persons, above the age of one and twenty years," with the above exceptions, to be listed in county units. Quakers and certain colonial and county officials were exempt from personal attendance at musters.[43] After King George's War began, an attempt was made to exact from Virginians a greater responsiveness to militia activity. Stricter discipline was exercised, the number of training sessions was increased, and more adequate provision for arming the men was made.[44]

Out of a total Virginia population of 230,000, there were about 27,000 men involved in militia duty in 1755.[45] That year the requirements for membership were altered to include all males above eighteen and under sixty years, except indentured servants, certain colonial officers, and persons engaged in the occupations specified by the 1738 act. Even free mulattoes, Negroes, and Indians were to be used as drummers, trumpeters, pioneers, or laborers. Provision was made to furnish the indigent with their arms and accouterments.[46] The population of Hampshire County had been so reduced that in 1757 its settlers were excused from the militia.[47] The militia never really worked in Virginia during these wars, because, as Governor Francis Fauquier reasoned in 1759, the people were unwilling to be placed "under such restraints as are necessary to make a militia serviceable."[48]

The drafting of soldiers from the civilian population was carried out with varying degrees of failure during this war period. The people did not like military constraint, they were zealous for their liberty, they entertained the notion that the French and Indian War was fought to benefit land speculators—these are some reasons why conscription did not work successfully.[49]

In the spring of 1755 the Assembly authorized the drafting of 150 single men from the militia in the three northwestern counties to serve as rangers. If a man refused to serve, he would be fined £ 10. If payment were not made, he would be committed to jail

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[43] Hening, V, 16, 17.
[44] *Ibid.*, V, [90]-91, 99-100.
[45] Dinwiddie to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Jan. 1755, in Brock, I, 387.
[46] Hening, VI, 531, 532, 533.
[47] *Ibid.*, VII, 93.
[48] Fauquier to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, Dec. 1, 1759, Williamsburg, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*, 282.
[49] Officers of the Virginia Regiment to the General Assembly, in *ibid.*, 162; Fauquier to the Lords of Trade, June 2, 1760, Williamsburgh, in *ibid.*, 285; Baker-Crothers, 25, 27-28.

until he consented to do one or the other.[50] Following Braddock's defeat the colony provided for raising the strength of its regiment to 1,200. If this number of men did not voluntarily enlist, a draft of single men from the militia was authorized.[51]

To secure soldiers for the Virginia regiment the Assembly passed an act in 1756 to conscript every twentieth man out of the militia. After giving a county the opportunity to fill its quota by enlistments, the county militia officers convened as a council of war would conduct a drawing at the courthouse. A number of blank pieces of paper equal to the number of single, able-bodied men in the militia would be prepared, except that none would be made for the volunteers and for the single men who failed to appear at the drawing. (The latter would automatically be conscripted into the regiment unless excused by the council of war.) The words *"This obliges me immediately to enter his majesty's service"* would be written on a number of the blank slips—a number equal to one-twentieth of the militia membership for that county less the number of volunteers. A man would be excused from the draft if he drew a blank slip. Otherwise, he was drafted at once into the regiment, unless he paid the sum of £ 10 to hire a substitute.[52] By June 25, 246 draftees had been brought to Winchester, the headquarters of the Virginia regiment. Three of them were discharged as unfit for service, and others would have been had the regimental strength not been so low.[53]

The next year machinery was again set up in each county to conscript men for the regiment. A draft court of justices and militia officers would investigate the employment of men between eighteen and fifty years of age. A list of the unemployed, regimental deserters, and the disfranchised would be made. At a later session the court would draft from this group a number of men equal to one-fortieth of the county militia membership.[54]

Desertion from the regiment and from the militia on active duty was a common problem in Virginia. During the War of Jenkins' Ear, Governor Gooch offered a reward of one pistole for apprehending a deserter. All the king's subjects were charged by law to arrest deserters and bring them before a justice of the peace for punishment.[55] In King George's War any man who harbored a deserter from the Canadian expedition or who purchased arms or clothing issued to a soldier was liable to a fine of £ 5 for each violation.[56] During the period of unrest that followed Braddock's defeat the fine was quadrupled, with the penalty going to the informer.[57]

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[50] Hening, VI, 465.
[51] Hening, VI, 527.
[52] Hening, VII, 14-15.
[53] Washington to Dinwiddie, June 25, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 354.
[54] Hening, VII, 70-71.
[55] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 477; Hening, V, 93.
[56] *Ibid.*, V, 404.
[57] *Ibid.*, VI, 563.

Many deserters in the summer of 1756 were "kindly received and entertained thro' the Colony, and even under the eye of the civil magistrate. Perhaps a proclamation of pardon to all who would surrender themselves and return to duty might be of service. Those delivered to the constables are always suffered to escape, and no notice taken of it," Washington reported to Governor Dinwiddie.[58] Public apathy toward this problem was in part the result of stories of ill treatment by officers, told by deserters and believed by the people.[59] The governor claimed desertion was "a growing Evil and too general," but said that he could not prevent people from protecting and entertaining deserters.[60] A year later he was "uneasy at reading the List of many Deserters from the Drafts. I shall advise and publish Advertisements for apprehending them if possible, though they are too much countenanced and protected, to the shame of the Country."[61]

The impressment of artisans and unskilled laborers was another cause of the movement and dislocation of people during the war period. The use of skilled artificers, such as gunsmiths, blacksmiths, wheel-wrights, and carpenters, was vitally important, particularly in times of invasion. Such artisans were relied on to repair arms and make carriages for "great guns." Also men were needed occasionally as sailors on sloops and boats. The Invasion and Insurrection Act of 1727 authorized the impressment of necessary laborers in time of danger. The daily wage of an impressed smith was 50 pounds of tobacco, of other artificers 40 pounds, and of sailors 15 pounds.[62] The 1727 act, due to expire in 1744, was extended for a three-year period soon after the War of Jenkins' Ear began.[63] During King George's War its life was lengthened by four years.[64]

In 1748 an act similar to the 1727 law was passed, establishing the same pay schedule for impressed workmen.[65] This new act was extended in 1753 for seven years.[66] Three years later the per diem wage of artificers other than smiths was lowered to 30 pounds of tobacco (or three shillings), but the pay of the other laborers was kept at the 1727 scale.[67]

The impressment of men was often accomplished with great difficulty. At Winchester in October 1755, Colonel Washington had some six gunsmiths at work repairing firearms. Several days later, without having completed his assignment, one of the smiths was preparing to leave town with his wagons. Washington later informed Governor Dinwiddie, "I pressed his Waggons and compelled him by

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[58] Sept. 8, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 461.
[59] *Ibid.*, I, 465.
[60] Dinwiddie to Washington, Sept. 20, 1756, in Brock, II, 523-524.
[61] Dinwiddie to Washington, July 14, 1757, in *ibid.*, II, 670.
[62] Hening, IV, 199, 201.
[63] *Ibid.*, V, 95.
[64] *Ibid.*, V, 228.
[65] *Ibid.*, VI, 113-116.
[66] *Ibid.*, VI, 350.
[67] *Ibid.*, VII, 28.

Force, to assist in this Work. In all things I meet with the greatest opposition. No orders are obey'd, but what a Party of Soldiers, or my own drawn Sword, Enforces; . . . however, I have given up none, where his Majesty's Service requires the Contrary, and where my proceedings are justified by my Instructions; nor will I, unless they execute what they threaten, i.e. 'to blow out my Brains.' "[68]

Recruiting soldiers to fill royal quotas assigned Virginia or the ranks of the colonial regiment occasioned a good deal of population movement during the wars. In 1746 the Assembly appropriated money to cover the expenses of enlisting and transporting a number of Virginia men to Albany, New York, to join the regulars in a proposed Canadian attack.[69]

Eleven royal recruiters arrived from England in June 1755 to enlist men for two regiments then in Nova Scotia. Governor Dinwiddie predicted that not many would be raised in Virginia, because of the lack of a martial spirit among the people.[70] The following year Britain was again seeking volunteers in the Old Dominion. The governor suggested that Lord Loudoun send British recruiters, since the colony had "very few, if any foreigners." Apparently he was overlooking the Germans in the Shenandoah Valley. Dinwiddie wrote the earl, "In the Mountains I shall do all in my Power to raise recruits, which is a most difficult Affair here, as our lower Class of People are Dastardly and [the] most inactive Mortals I ever met with."[71]

An act of Parliament had provided that indentured servants might be recruited for military service, if their owners were paid a reasonable allowance. Washington argued that the fine of £ 10 paid by draftees who refused to serve should be used for this purpose. He wanted Dinwiddie to authorize such a procedure for filling the Virginia regiment, lest the royal recruiters sign up all available servants for service with the regulars.[72] The governor gave his approval and by Christmas 1756 some two hundred servants had been added to the regiment at a cost to the colony of about £ 8 per man.[73]

The king called on his North American subjects in 1758 to enlist as many men as possible for General Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne. No quota was set for each colony.[74]

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[68] Oct. 11, 1755, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 201. The 1727 and 1748 Invasion and Insurrection acts permitted the military to seize a man's carts, wagons, draft horses, oxen, entrenching tools, sloops, or boats. Adequate reimbursement for such impressed property was the rule of law.

[69] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1742-1747, 1748-1749* (Richmond, Va., 1909), 225-226 (hereafter cited as McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1742-1749*).

[70] Dinwiddie to Arthur Dobbs, June 13, 1755, in Brock, II, 61; Dinwiddie to Sharpe, June 15, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 59; Dinwiddie to Braddock, June 16, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 65; *ibid.*, II, 66n.

[71] Sept. 8, 1756, in *ibid.*, II, 436.

[72] Aug. 4, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 417.

[73] Washington to Dinwiddie, Sept. 8, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 461; Dinwiddie to John Mitchell, Dec. 25, 1756, in Brock, II, 571.

[74] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, [405].

The following year Virginia made a radical shift in its policy of filling military personnel needs. Instead of drafting men and fining them if they refused to serve, the colony now adopted a plan to offer rewards for enlistment. The sum of £ 10 would go to each volunteer for the regiment, which might be taken out of the province. Each recruit joining a 500-man force to be used only in Virginia would receive £ 5.[75] During the Cherokee uprising in 1760 a payment of £ 10 was offered each volunteer for a 700-man force to aid Fort Loudoun in Indian territory.[76]

During the war period a number of Virginia towns were settled and developed. Of these Winchester, the county seat of Frederick County, perhaps expanded the most as a result of military activity. James Wood had built his home on the site in 1735, and later surveyed and laid out a town of twenty-six half-acre lots. People moved there and built houses, and in 1752 the Assembly established it as a town, adding 54 lots to its bounds. To provide a market for cattle, food, and other commodities, the legislature authorized a fair, to be held on the third Wednesday of June and October each year. For two days preceding and following the fair, persons bringing goods for sale were exempt from attachment for debts and from arrest except for capital crimes.[77]

Winchester, Washington believed, was not only a strategic military point but also a vital crossroads of communication and transportation. Almost all the roads in northern Virginia converged at the "trifling" town, and connected the markets of the adjoining colonies with those on the Potomac and the Rappahannock. For these reasons he advocated the erection of a fort there. Such a structure at Winchester would afford safety for fleeing refugee families and prevent their abandoning the frontier. With the women and children secure in a fort, the men could then go in a group against the savages.[78] His urgent plea to the speaker of the House of Burgesses was heeded, and in 1756 the Assembly appropriated £ 1,000 to built the fort.[79] Its construction encountered many delays and difficulties and remained incomplete even as late as the Forbes campaign. After the British gained possession of the Forks of the Ohio, interest in finishing it fell away quickly. Its barracks had a capacity for 450 soldiers. The digging of a moat around the fort was begun, but it was abandoned when rock was struck.[80]

The control of "Paltry tippling houses and Ginn-shops" in Winchester presented a continuing problem to Washington through the summer of 1756, when numbers of militia units as well as friendly

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[75] Hening, VII, 256, 257.
[76] *Ibid.*, VII, 554.
[77] *Ibid.*, VI, 268, 269.
[78] Washington to Robinson, April 24, 27, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 334, 339.
[79] Hening, VII, 33.
[80] Burnaby, 75; Washington, Parcie Turnbridge, July 30, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 413.

Indians were in town. Frequently sergeants and drummers appeared on the village streets to proclaim orders against the sale of liquor to red men or against the drunkenness of soldiers in private homes. Servicemen, quartered in the ordinaries which bilked the soldiers or sold them too much drink in a day, were moved out into tents.[81]

In Winchester that year there was talk about coming to terms with the Indians and French rather than losing both life and fortune, about damage that military units did to private property, and about the theft of horses by soldiers. All these things and perhaps more gave concern to the residents of the little town.[82]

The presence of the military at Winchester and the consequent sale of provisions caused the town to grow. In 1758 when Winchester was "daily increas[ing] in inhabitants," 106 acres were added to its corporate limits, and ten men were appointed as municipal trustees to regulate the orderly erection of houses. One hundred seventy-three town lots were tacked on the following year.[83] By the end of the French and Indian War there were about 200 houses there.[84]

Other towns sprang up to answer the need for protection against Indian raids. Washington suggested that Augusta County settlers gather in little towns adjacent to their forts. Stephensburg in Frederick County, Peytonsburg in Halifax, Dalstonburg in Lunenburg, and Fairfax in Culpeper—all came into existence so the people could render mutual support during an enemy attack.[85]

Attempts to relieve unemployment and to control vagrants were made by the Assembly. The contingent sent from Virginia as a part of the Cartagena expedition in 1740 was composed of men without "lawful calling or employment," who had been impressed by sheriffs into this duty.[86] In every county "many Idle and dissolute Persons who neither betake themselves to any honest Labour or Employment nor have any Settled Habitation or place of abode Strole about the County Unmolested. . . ."[87] Such men between 21 and 50 years were impressed to fill the regiment for the Braddock campaign.[88] The 1757 draft was to be raised substantially from the following groups: (1) able-bodied men "found loitering and neglecting to labor for reasonable wages"; (2) those who had deserted their

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[81] Washington, Orders, May 9, [July 22], Aug. 7, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 365, 409, 440; Washington to Robinson, Aug. 5, Nov. 9, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 429, 505; Washington to Dinwiddie, Sept. 23, 1756, Mount Vernon, in *ibid.*, I, 470; Dinwiddie to Washington, Sept. 30, 1756, in Brock, II, 523.

[82] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 24, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 330; Washington to Henry Woodward, May 5, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 361; Washington, Orders, Parole Kendall, July 21, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 406; Washington to Thomas Waggener, Sept. 6, 1756, Winchester, in *ibid.*, I, 458.

[83] Hening, VII, 235, 236, 315-316.

[84] Bursely, 54.

[85] Washington to Dinwiddie, Nov. 9, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 496; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*, 16-17; Hening, VII, 234-235, 305-306.

[86] Hening, V, 84, 85.

[87] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 476.

[88] Hening, VI, 438.

families, leaving them unsupported; and (3) "idle, vagrant, or dissolute persons, wandering abroad without betaking themselves to some lawful employment."[89]

Wartime conditions intensified the ever-present fear of Negro slave insurrections. The 1727 Invasion and Insurrection Act authorized militia patrols to prevent the "unlawful concourse of negros" during the Christmas, Eastern, and Whitsuntide holidays, at which times slaves were normally excused from work.[90] This law was extended for four years in 1744, strengthened in 1748, and replaced in 1755.[91]

The greatest number of Negroes[92] in Virginia caused the colony to be unwilling to send the militia beyond its borders.[93] After the Ohio failure some slaves, incensed with the idea that the French would liberate them and emboldened by the British loss, did act in an "audacious" manner toward their masters.[94]

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Economic conditions of the Old Dominion were greatly affected by military operations and by the attending changes in taxation, inflation, and commerce. Military appropriations made by the General Assembly totaled at least £ 326,700. Of this huge sum, only £ 18,100 went to finance royal requisitions, such as the Cartegena expedition, the care of soldiers bound for Fort Louisburg, the Canadian campaign in King George's War, and recruiting for the Royal American Regiment during the French and Indian War. The remainder of the legislative grants supported provincial requirements during the wars, including such projects as militia equipment, Fort Cumberland, the chain of frontier forts, Braddock's expedition, the Cherokee fort at Choto, Indian presents and provisions, maintenance of the Virginia regiment, the Cherokee war, and frontier ranger companies. It least £ 308,600 was provided for these objects by the people of the province. Of this amount all but £ 2,000 was appropriated during the French and Indian War through 1760.[95]

Parliament appropriated £ 50,000 in 1757 as a partial reimbursement to the southern colonies of their wartime expenditures, and of this amount Virginia received £ 32,268. The following year another grant was made by Britain for all the North American colonies. From this appropriation of £ 200,000, the Old Dominion received £ 20,546.[96]

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[89] *Ibid.*, VIII, 70.
[90] *Ibid.*, IV, 202-203.
[91] *Ibid.*, V, 232, VI, 108, 542-544.
[92] In 1756 the number above 15 years totaled 60,078. It was estimated that the number from 15 and below was of equal size. This means that the number of Negroes was at least 50 per cent of the population. Dinwiddie to Lord Loudoun, Aug. 5, 1756, in Brock, II, 474; Henry Fox, May 24, 1756, in *ibid.*, II, 414-415.
[93] Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax, July 23, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 114; Dinwiddie to Charles Carter, July 18, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 102.
[94] Hening, V, 260, 85, 130-132, 402, VI, [437], 463, 465, 467, 524, VII, 17, 62, 63, 78, 79, 232, 233, [347], 355, 357.
[95] *Ibid.*, VIII, 355.

Several methods were employed during the war to raise the money required by military expenditures of such proportions. During the early part of this war period the usual method was to borrow money at 5 or 6 per cent interest. This was done to finance the Cartegena and Canadian campaigns and Washington's 1754 Ohio expedition. These debts were secured to the creditors by levying various taxes and duties.[97]

The emission of treasury notes or paper money was the method of finance most commonly used during the French and Indian War. From May 1755 through May 1760 notes were authorized at every legislative session except two. These issues totaled approximately £ 398,000.[98]

The issuing of paper currency was necessitated by the scarcity of gold and silver coins in the colony, by the "distressed circumstances" of the people, and by the length of time required for tax collection.[99] Treasury notes passed as legal tender for all purposes except payment of quit rents.[100] To prevent depreciation of the notes several practices were declared illegal: (1) raising the price of merchandise or land when notes instead of specie were offered in payment, (2) refusing to sell unless coin were offered, (3) demanding or receiving an allowance for difference in value when giving gold or silver for notes, (4) buying or selling a bill of exchange for a higher rate when notes rather than specie were offered in payment, and (5) using any other method to impair the credit of the notes.[101] In spite of these precautions the currency did depreciate.

Notes issued from 1755 to 1757 bore interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum; issues after that earned no interest.

Redemption of the paper money, set as late as 1769, was secured by various forms of revenue, including land and poll taxes, import duties on slaves and alcoholic spirits, and export duties on tobacco. The impost on slaves will serve to illustrate the whole scheme of taxation. In 1740 a duty of 5 per cent had been put on every slave brought into Virginia for sale.[102] After several extensions the duty expired July 31, 1751, but was revived in April 1752 for four years, and in November of the following year extended for four more years (to expire April 20, 1760). In 1759 it was continued to 1767.[103] A second duty of 5 per cent was laid in 1754,

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[97] *Ibid.*, V, 122, 402, VI, [417], 419.

[98] *Ibid.*, VI, 467, 528, VII, 16, 32, 81, 166, 175, 259, 334, 350, 360; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1761*, xv. The difference between this amount and the lesser sum for military appropriations is explained by the fact that the acts authorizing emission usually contained appropriations of considerably smaller amounts. Among other things this difference probably went for administrative costs in connection with emission of notes, for rewards to volunteers, and for commissions to various officers (civil and military) for handling funds.

[99] Hening, VI, 528.

[100] *Ibid.*, VI, 467.

[101] *Ibid.*, VII, 81.

[102] Virginia had used this kind of tax in 1732. *Ibid.*, IV, 317, 394.

[103] *Ibid.*, V, 82, 96, 161, 318-319, VI, 218, 353-354, VII, 261.

and a third of 10 per cent in 1755.[104] Renewed in 1757, the third duty was repealed three years later in a class struggle between rich and poor.[105]

The question in 1760 was whether to keep the duty on slaves at 20 per cent or to reduce it by half. Wealthy planters favored the higher rate, because they already possessed slaves, could afford the increased cost for imported slaves, or were in the business of breeding and selling Negroes at exorbitant prices. They wanted to keep the duty at a prohibitive scale, so as to continue their monopoly. On the other hand, numerous small landowners wanted to buy slaves from abroad or from other colonies at reasonable prices. Their concern was to secure labor for their own plantations or to settle and improve land in newer areas. In the May session of the Assembly a clause to reduce the duty to 10 per cent was added to the military supply bill. So great was the division over the slave duty that the bill passed by only one vote in the lower house.[106]

The scarcity of specie and the inflation of paper currency were continuing problems throughout the war period. The constant cry of governor, lawmaker, and military leader was the need for gold and silver coin. In 1756 Dinwiddie estimated that the specie in the colony would not amount to more than £ 20,000. The available coin was being sent to Philadelphia and New York for the purchase of bills of exchange.[107]

The excessive issuing of paper money in Virginia tended to drive out the gold and silver. Even though provision had been made for redeeming the treasury notes, they steadily depreciated in value. In 1755 the rate of exchange between London and Virginia was 125;[108] in 1757, 135; and in 1759, 140.[109]

In January 1755 the governor reported to the Board of Trade that Virginia's exports amounted to £ 334,000 annually, including tobacco, pitch, tar, pig iron, deer skins, furs, wheat, corn, beeswax, beef, pork, staves, shingles, snakeroot, and ginseng. Most of these exports went to Great Britain or her colonies. The only non-British colonies with which Virginia traded were the Dutch islands of Saint Eustatius and Curacao in the West Indies. Some smuggling of French sugar and rum was carried on by Virginians from those islands to their home colony. Prevention of such illegal trade was rendered almost impossible by Virginia's extensive coast line, with its many bays and rivers.[110]

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[104] Ibid., VII, 419, 666.
[105] Ibid., VIII, 81, 363.
[106] Ibid., VIII, 363; Petition to the Lords of Trade, June 2, 1760, Williamsburg, in McIlwaine, Executive, 1754-1775, 264-265.
[107] Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax, May 24, 1756, in Brock, II, 413; Hening, VII, 18.
[108] Dinwiddie to the Earl of Granville, Nov. 13, [1755], in ibid., II, 275.
[109] Baker-Crothers, 162.
[110] In Brock, I, 386.

Around 120 ocean-going vessels, principally from Great Britain, appeared in Virginia ports each year, according to a 1755 estimate. The trade between Virginia and the Mother Country had "greatly increased" during the ten-year period beginning in 1745.

The sale of provisions and horses to the military was a tremendous stimulus to Virginia economy. Many farmers, such as the Germans in the Shenandoah Valley, and numbers of drovers and wagoners were reaping good profits by the end of the war by supplying food products and transportation services. This was a reversal of their inability to furnish supplies to the army at the war's beginning, because they were unaccustomed to such activity.[111]

The military at times would lay in great stores of flour, bread, beef, and pork to last for six to eight months.[112] Usually these provisions would be transported by wagons to Winchester or Fort Cumberland. At other times cattle and hogs would be driven to the military headquarters. The usual custom was to pay the supplier for four-fifths of the gross weight of cattle. In 1755 the price was 15 shillings per 100 pounds.[113] On one occasion a public announcement was posted, calling on the people to bring in for sale all the pork they could spare.[114]

Embargoes on shipping were ordered in Virginia from time to time. In February 1741 the Council placed an embargo on all ships until April 20, so that they might be convoyed to England by two British naval vessels.[115] After the capture of Louisburg, Virginia put a temporary restriction on exporting beef, pork, and bread, in order that a cargo of provisions might be sent to the Canadian post.[116]

To prevent France from getting Virginia produce, an embargo on the exporting of all provisions (except to other British colonies) was established the first of 1756. Bond was required to insure that such cargo would not reach French ports. By October New York and other northern colonies had removed the embargo, and Governor Dinwiddie sought permission to raise it in Virginia in order to export a surplus of 40,000 bushels of Indian corn. Evidently the embargo was lifted, because in the following March it was again put into effect against all shipping.[117]

An immediate cry went up from tobacco planters, corn farmers, and shippers in Virginia. Corn was plentiful that spring, tobacco from the year before remained unexported, and taxes for military pur-

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[111] Dinwiddie to *Lord Halifax*, June 6, 1755, in Brock, II, 54-55.
[112] Dinwiddie to *John Carlyle*, Jan. 27, 1754, in *ibid.*, I, 33.
[113] Dinwiddie to *Braddock*, May 23, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 40.
[114] Washington to Thomas Walker, Nov. 11, 1755, Williamsburg, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 337.
[115] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 41.
[116] *Ibid.*, V, 141-142.
[117] Dinwiddie to Loudoun, July 1, Sept. 8, Oct. 6, 1756, in Brock, II, 416, 498, 535; Dinwiddie to the Royal Governors of the Different Ports in Virginia, Mar. 3, 1757, [Proclamation], in *ibid.*, II, 591; Dinwiddie to John Blair, Mar. 8, 1757, [Philadelphia], in *ibid.*, II, 596.

poses were heavy. Trade would stagnate if the embargo remained, argued the Burgesses in petitioning Dinwiddie to remove it; in fact, they threatened to vote no military supplies until it was taken off. The governor consulted with the Council, which gave its unanimous approval to raise the shipping restriction. When the governor removed the embargo in May, he incurred the great displeasure of Lord Loudoun, who later suggested that Dinwiddie had been bribed, and that he ought to be removed from office and not be allowed to resign (as he had requested).[118]

The necessity of an embargo is seen from the statement of Governor Francis Fauquier, who succeeded Dinwiddie. The new governor informed the Board of Trade that he had been tempted many times to grant flags of truce for the purpose of "Clandestine Trade," but hastened to add that he had never granted even one. During the war a trade from Virginia had been carried on with the French at Monte Cristi in Santo Domingo. Also sometimes ships cleared from Virginia for Scotland or Gibraltar with grain, and then went to the Madeira Islands or the West Indies, pretending that the stress of weather had blown them off course. Seizing the cargo, the island governor would require the captain to sell it at a high price. By this way Virginians were able to evade the law which prohibited the exportation of grain to neutral ports.[119]

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The religious life of the colony was another area in which the impact of war was felt. In Virginia, where the Church of England was established, the majority of churches were Anglican. However, numerous dissenters inhabited Shenandoah Valley and other frontier areas, and Presbyterians had already pressed out of the valley eastward into the more settled parts of the province.

Pledged to support the established church, the colonial government in turn sought the aid of religion in the prosecution of the war and attempted to relate the conflict to the spiritual awareness of the people. At the suggestion of Governor Gooch, who believed that wars and distresses were the result of the people's sins, the Assembly in 1744 passed acts to suppress gambling and other vice.[120] Two years later the governor proclaimed February 26[121] as a day of "General Fast and Humiliation, before Almighty God, in a most devout and solemn Manner, by our Prayers and Supplication, for obtaining Pardon for our Sins, for averting those heavy Judgments we have justly deserv'd. . . ."[122]

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[118] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 448; Dinwiddie to Loudoun, April 6, July 9, 1757, in Brock, II, 606, 664-665; Dinwiddie to William Pitt, May 14, 1757, in *ibid.*, II, 621; Loudoun to Cumberland, June 22, 1757, Alexander Sutherland at Sea, in Stanley Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* (New York, c. 1936), 277.

[119] Dec. 6, 1760, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*, 290.

[120] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1742-1747*, xxiii.

[121] In this paper the only alteration made in the dates of the Julian calendar has been to change the year (for dates from January 1 through March 24) to conform to the Gregorian calendar.

[122] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 402.

During the French and Indian War, Colonel Washington urged Governor Dinwiddie to secure an Anglican chaplain for the Virginia regiment. Accordingly, the governor sought the assistance of the commissary, the representative of the Bishop of London, in securing a rector for the position; nevertheless, no one would accept it,[123] even though there were some sixty Episcopal clergymen in the colony.[124]

Despite the legal restrictions under which dissenting ministers labored in Virginia, they were making great headway among the people. In the hope that "foreign protestants" would settle on the Ohio frontier and form a bulwark against the French Indians, the Assembly in 1752 and 1753 offered certain inducements to them.[125] Near the end of the war Governor Fauquier, as had Governor Dinwiddie in 1756, proposed to the Board of Trade that a separate colony, erected as a barrier for the older settlements, be formed west of the Alleghenies and that "protestant foreigners" be relieved of the obligations imposed by a church establishment.[126]

The Dunkers (German Baptist Brethren) were accused in 1756 of entertaining wounded Indians in their homes in the Valley of Virginia. Many of them had had medical training, and they doubtless did render aid to distressed red men. A military unit of 80 men located on the South Branch was sent out to bring in such Indians.[127]

In 1745 the Council rejected the request of a Mennonite group that it be excused from attending militia musters.[128] The Quakers, another pacifist sect, had been exempt from this particular duty by the 1738 Militia Act; however, the 1755 act, which replaced the earlier law, did not excuse them from militia duty but only from being put in the "horse or foot." Apparently, Quakers were expected to perform non-military duties in the militia.[129] In the following year at least six Quakers were drafted into the Virginia Regiment. Since they refused to bear arms, to work, or to receive their provisions and pay, Washington in June placed them in confinement in Winchester. Dinwiddie recommended that they be put on a diet of bread and water, if they persisted in their unwillingness to work on the forts or carry timber. They were kept confined and were punished by occasional whippings until the early part of August, when they were released from the guardhouse. Some of their friends posted security to guarantee their appearance, if their presence were desired. They also appealed to the governor to end the beatings. Accordingly, Dinwiddie ordered Washington to be lenient with them.[130] Here then

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[123] Dinwiddie to Washington, Sept. 30, 1756, in Brock, II, 523.
[124] Burnaby, 48.
[125] Hening, VI, 258; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, [103], 116.
[126] Dec. 1, 1759, Williamsburg, in McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1758-1761*, 282; Dinwiddie to the Lords of Trade, Feb. 23, 1756, in Brock, II, 343.
[127] Washington to Dinwiddie, Sept. 28, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 473.
[128] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 170.
[129] Hening, V, 16, VI, 331, 533.
[130] Washington to Dinwiddie, June 25, Aug. 4, 1756, Winchester, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 394, 420; Dinwiddie to Washington, [June], Aug. 19, 1756, in Brock, II, 434, 481.

were three groups—Dunkers, Mennonites, and Quakers—whose spirit of compassion and peace were a direct affront to the martial temper that pervaded the Old Dominion.

Such was not the case with the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who filled the Valley of Virginia and overflowed into the Piedmont through gaps in the Blue Ridge. They were of a fighting stock, upon whose ears fell pleasantly the military urgings of their chief leader in Virginia, Samuel Davies. At a militia muster in Hanover County, on May 8, 1758, he preached a sermon entitled "The Curse of Cowardice." He sounded a mightly call to enlist in the regiment for the Forbes campaign. Hear his thundering appeal: "Ye that love your County, enlist: for Honor will follow you in Life or Death in such a Cause. You that love your Religion enlist: for your Religion is in Danger. Can Protestant Christianty expect Quarters from Heathen Savages and French Papists? Sure in such an Alliance, the Powers of Hell make a third Party. Ye that love your Friends and Relations, enlist; lest ye see them enslaved or butchered before your Eyes."[131]

Anticatholicism developed somewhat naturally in colonial America, partly because of the presence to the north and to the south of rival powers which adhered to the Roman faith. In Virginia this spirt was evident during the war against Spain and later during the French and Indian War. Governor Gooch, "determined not to exchange our Religion for the Absurdities of *Rome,*" called on the legislature in 1744 to make the colony strong enough to resist any invasion by the enemy.[132] The next year the Council reminded the governor in response to his Assembly address that "our own Knowledge & thorough Conviction of the Idolatry & Wickedness of ye *Romish* Church . . . would alone be sufficient to incite us to the use of all our Efforts to defeat this wicked Scheme. . . ."[133] In February 1746, news having reached the colony of the uprising in Britain of the supporters of the Young Pretender, the governor discoursed at length on the heresies of Roman Catholicism and on the effect in Virginia of the success of the Stuart cause.[134] Two months later Gooch issued a proclamation for the arrest of certain Roman priests who had recently come from Maryland and who were attempting "to seduce his Majesty's good Subjects from their Fidelity and Loyalty to his Majesty King George, and his Royal House. . . ."[135]

In encouraging the Assembly to respond to Lord Loudoun's plea to complete the Royal American Regiment, the Governor on September 20, 1756, appealed to religious prejudice by urging the legislators to consider the consequences of French rule over the Old Dominion. It would mean "giving up your Liberty for Slavery,

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[131] In H. Shelton Smith *et al.*, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents* (2 vols., New York, 1960), I, 358.
[132] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1742-1749*, 58.
[133] McIlwaine and Hall, II, 364.
[134] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1742-1749*, 153-154.
[135] McIlwaine and Hall, V, 484-485.

the purest Religion for the grossest Idolatry and Superstition, the legal and mild Government of a Protestant King, for the arbitrary Exactions, and heavy Oppressions of a Popish Tyrant."[136]

The major Catholic problem in Virginia, as in most all the British colonies in North America during the French and Indian War, was related to the Neutral French from Nova Scotia. As part of a general dispersion of the Acadians who refused to swear allegiance to Britain, six sloops arrived in Virginia in November 1755, bearing some 1,140 Catholics. They had not been invited, neither had the governor of Nova Scotia given warning of their appearance. Their arrival created no little uneasiness in the minds of a people whose very existence as a colony was then being threatened on the frontier by subjects of the same nation. In short, the Virginians wished they had not come and wanted to be rid of them as soon as possible. They did not listen when the governor explained, though erroneously, that the king must have approved their coming, else his admirals would not have participated in the division of the Acadians among the colonies.[137]

The Assembly, meeting in March 1756, formulated a two-part solution to this perplexing problem. First, they passed an act to disarm the "Papists" who had just arrived, as well as reputed Catholics who refused to swear allegiance to Britain, reasoning that in wartime in was dangerous to all these French people to keep arms and ammunition in their homes.[138] The second part, a legislative act to deport the Acadians, authorized a number of assemblymen to contract for their transportation to Great Britain.[139] On April 15 the House asked the governor to put the deportation act into effect.[140]

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The structure of Virginia's colonial government was altered somewhat by the forces of war. One prominent feature of this shift in power arrangement was the increasing tendency of the General Assembly to appoint committees or commissions to superintend military expenditures. This trend constituted an attack on the gubernatorial prerogative, which was strenuously resisted by the governor. Apparently the practice originated in 1746 with the legislative appointment of a ten-man committee to manage the appropriation for the Virginians who took part in the Canadian campaign. The committee was required to receive the money from the colonial treasurer, apply it to the soldiers' expenses, and report to the next Assembly session.[141]

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[136] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 402.

[137] Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax, Nov. 15, 1755, Feb. 24, 1756, in Brock, II, 272, 345-346; Dinwiddie to the Earl of Granville, Nov. 15, [1755], in *ibid.*, 275; Dinwiddie to Thomas Robinson, Dec. 24, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 306; McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 345, 352.

[138] Hening, VII, 55-59.

[139] *Ibid.*, VII, 59-60.

[140] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 370.

[141] Hening, V, 402.

After Washington returned from his mission to the French forts on the Allegheny, the Assembly in special session in February 1754 appointed 14 directors to control the use of the funds appropriated for the Ohio attack against the French. These men, chosen from among the legislators, were empowered to apply to the governor for warrants on the treasurer and were required to render an account to the Assembly.[142] Vigorous objection to this procedure was raised immediately by Dinwiddie, who argued that it was an encroachment on his rights as the king's representative to have full charge of such war chests. Citing the 1746 precedent, the House of Burgesses maintained that military funds should be controlled by Assembly agents. The governor would have vetoed the bill, if his desire to prosecute the French war had not been so intense. He wrote the Board of Trade that he would have dissolved the Assembly, except that he wanted to secure from the British government an order for its dissolution, which would have been a greater rebuke to the Virginians.[143] Dinwiddie's need for the war funds was more urgent than his need to hold on to this executive power. Here is an example of what was already becoming common practice in the British colonies. The lower houses were following assiduously that process by which they gained virtual control over fiscal appropriations. This movement was already well advanced in the Old Dominion, where had developed the custom of electing the speaker of the House of Burgesses to serve in a dual capacity as colonial treasurer.

Again in October, after Washington had suffered defeat at Great Meadows, the Assembly designated a 14-man directorate to manage a new fund of £ 20,000. Any seven of these men could act in conjunction with the governor, and were allowed a commission of 2.5 per cent for their work.[144] The next year 16 legislators were chosen to superintend the defense appropriation "with the consent and approbation of the governor."[145] In 1756 one more member was added to the directorate.[146]

In April 1757, at the last legislative session of the Dinwiddie administration, he took a parting shot at the financial directorate. In calling attention to the unpaid military accounts and to the depletion of the defense funds, he cautioned, "You will undoubtedly receive an Account of the Disposal of these Monies, from the Persons you entrusted therewith; and if there has been any Misconduct, from their being unacquainted with these Affairs, as new and unusual among us, you may, for the future, point out a more frugal Oeconomy in the public Expences, in which, and in all Things for the public Service, I shall readily join you and assist you."[147]

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142 *Ibid.*, VI, 418.
143 McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, xix.
144 Hening, VI, [437].
145 *Ibid.*, VI, 524.
146 *Ibid.*, VII, 13.
147 McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 414.

Two weeks later word had reached Washington that the Assembly would relinquish its oversight of military funds.[148] Apparently this was only a rumor, because the Draft Act, passed at the April session, provided for a commission of three men—William Prentis, James Cocke, and Thomas Everard—to settle the accounts of the officers and soldiers serving under that law. The legislators argued that "it will be very troublesome to the governor . . . to examine and settle the accounts of the several charges and expences. . . ."[149] The same act also created a 16-member committee, of which any five could act, to expend in conjunction with the governor a fund of £ 25,000 to cover the "large arrears due to present officers and soldiers now in the pay of this colony" as well as the expenses of certain other defense projects.[150] This committee was replaced the following year by the three men who had been named to administer the funds of the 1757 Draft Act.[151]

Various temporary commissions were employed in 1757 and 1758 as disbursing and auditing agencies for militia units which had been on active duty.[152] In an effort to share fiscal responsibility with the governor, the Assembly in 1758 appropriated £ 20,000 with which he was to settle the military arrears of that year.[153] In 1759 and 1760 Prentis, Cocke, and Everard were appointed to expend a number of military funds, including those for the 500-man frontier force, the 2nd Regiment, and the Cherokee expedition.[154]

The General Assembly over a seven-year period had switched from the use of a large fiscal committee, approximately one-half of which was authorized to act, to a three-man committee, whose membership remained unchanged in this period. Evidently, the legislature had come to the position that it was impossible to fix responsibility with the larger group, especially when less than half of its membership was authorized in some instances to transact the business of the whole. A smaller commission could more easily be held accountable for the money entrusted to its custody.

While Dinwiddie was in office, the House of Burgesses vainly sought to appoint a permanent London agent for the Assembly. At one session a bill for that purpose was defeated by the Burgesses on the third reading.[155] The lower house had seen the need for such an officer when it had been compelled to appoint a special agent to seek redress for the colony from the pistole regulation issued by Dinwiddie during the opening months of his administration. Also a London agent for the Assembly was doubtless seen as a necessary counterbalance against the military power that had accumulated in

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[148] Washington to Dinwiddie, April 29, 1757, Williamsburg, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, II, 34.
[149] Hening, VII, 75.
[150] *Ibid.*, VII, 76.
[151] *Ibid.*, VII, 234.
[152] *Ibid.*, VII, 120-121, 232-233.
[153] *Ibid.*, VII, 171, 172.
[154] *Ibid.*, VII, 237, 349, 359, 371.
[155] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 314.

the governor's hands during the war period. Accordingly, in the early part of 1759 the Assembly appointed Edward Montague, an attorney of the Middle Temple, as its London agent. A Committee of Correspondence, composed of 12 members of the Council and the lower house, was placed in charge of his work in the British capital. An act the following year allowed the governor to nominate Montague's successor, subject to the approval of the Assembly.[156]

As a means of war finance, the House of Burgesses passed a bill on November 8, 1755, to establish a loan office "for advancing and securing the public credit."[157] The bill authorized for an eight-year period the emission of paper money in the amount of £ 200,000. The paper would be loaned to individuals, who would presumably give the colony a mortgage on their property, as was the procedure with a credit agency in operation in Pennsylvania since 1723. However, the Virginia Council did not pass the bill, and the governor, to show his intense disapproval, dissolved the Assembly.[158]

The lower house received in March 1756 a petition from some freeholders and merchants of Caroline County to establish a "Bank and Loan-Office."[159] Even though the Burgesses spent a good deal of time that session in discussing a loan office, nothing came of it; rather, the Assembly continued to provide financial resources by emitting treasury notes.[160]

The Indian Factory of Virginia, set up by an act in 1757, proposed to create a monopoly in fur trade for the colonial government as well as to cement relations with the Southern Indians, whom the French, since the fall of Duquesne, had been alienating from the British. Another purpose of the new agency was to take up the slack in the Indian trade occasioned by the inability of "private adventurers" to supply goods to the red men during the "open war."[161]

Five trustees were appointed to carry out the functions of the Indian Factory. Money was appropriated, and a stock of merchantable Indian goods was ordered from England. A number of factors were engaged to barter with the Indians in exchange for skins, furs, and other commodities.[162] This monopolistic venture would doubtless have proved successful had not the Cherokee uprising intervened and prevented its operation. The agency was liquidated in 1760 by the forced sale of its goods and equipment.[163]

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This survey from 1739 through 1760 has shown that wars even in the eighteenth century involved others beside the soldiers who

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[156] Hening, VII, 276, 278, 377.
[157] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 329.
[158] *Ibid.*, 39, 440, 530; Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax, Nov. 15, 1755, in Brock, II, 276; Dinwiddie to James Abercromby, Nov. 15, [1755], in *ibid.*, II, 277; Dinwiddie to Lords, Nov. 15, 1755, in *ibid.*, II, 288.
[159] McIlwaine, *Burgesses, 1752-1758*, 339.
[160] *Ibid.*, [xxv], 341.
[161] Hening, VII, 116.
[162] *Ibid.*, VII, 116-117.
[163] *Ibid.*, VII, 386.

fought in them. Virginia's civilian population was greatly affected by the stress of war upon its daily activities.

A major wartime impact was the movement and dislocation of people within and beyond the borders of the colony. The French and their ubiquitous Indians rushed in from the west on their ill-fated missions, and upon withdrawal left behind a wake of carnage and destruction on the frontier. Only the bravest met this challenge with fortitude, while the faint-hearted fled in fear to the safety of the more settled areas, to return only when order was restored. Consequently, the frontier moved back and forth to coincide with the circumstance of war. From Williamsburg the long arm of colonial government reached out and, with varying degrees of efficiency, touched a considerable portion of the white, male population for military duty of one kind or another. Various attitudes prevailed throughout the Old Dominion—unconcern unless war were near at hand, fear of slave uprisings, indifference toward the disciplines of military life, a tendency to allow the poor and unemployed to face the foe.

Adjustments in the wartime economy of Virginia were many and varied. Both governor and Assembly struggled with the problem of financing the wars—borrowing here, taxing there, always printing more paper currency to lubricate the sluggish machinery of trade. During the wars the people carried a heavy burden of taxation, and by 1760 their debt was nearly £ 400,000. The emission of paper money in quantity inexorably drove out the specie and caused the currency to depreciate. Nevertheless, goods and paper changed hands regularly, and the military purchased vast amounts of food and supplies. Some smuggling was carried on with the French, and commodities when plentiful were shipped to English ports, as in the years of peace.

Religious anxiety, particularly fear of Catholicism, had some effect upon the people. In the turmoil of war several dissenting groups were able to prosper and respond with patriotism, while others were persecuted as pacifists.

Some governmental changes occurred, which were probably in a nascent state before the wars. In general, these changes tended to concentrate fiscal control in the hands of the people's representatives rather than in those of the royal governor. They demonstrated that the people were learning, even in the school of war, to make their voice heard more audibly in Virginia.